684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement.

583 Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

525 681 543 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the offenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle" [5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

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[5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

[P. 786]

/35 cont'd/

[584] [583] goes to her home with the traditional presents: gin, eight or ten loaves of bread, four feet of red cloth. The go-between is not present.

This visit is ordinarily made toward the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, which is one of the great festivals of the year. After putting down her gifts, the visitor pretends to kneel to greet the family ceremoniously, but this is forestalled. Tea and bread are served. Then the visitor herself takes her jug and pours gin for those present, a sign that she comes on an important mission. After this, she speaks of the wedding and asks that the day for it be set.

Appearances require that the bride's family pretend to wish to put off the wedding. "They love the girl so much, she is so good to her parents, so devoted, they will never be able to separate themselves from her." They beg that she be left with them for two or three more years. The daughter, in the kitchen, must weep aloud meanwhile...finally they end up by yielding with tears in their eyes.

Several days afterward the groom's family invites a Chinese diviner or a red lama, two members of the bride's family, her parents, and the go-between. The auspicious day is chosen with all possible respect, for on the happy wedding day will depend in great measure the good fortune of the married couple. This choice is of greatest importance.

[585] [178] In the family of the Li t'ou-se no weddings will be seen in the third and the ninth month of the year. In the old days the people whom he governs did the same; nowadays the people bother less and less with this custom.

[585] /36/ The wedding day being set, discussions are begun on the subject of the last arrangements. Well-to-do families make weddings the biggest festivity of their lives. The arrangements for this festivity are made by common agreement between the two families after a laborious discussion.

The bride's family: "I have then made the sacrifice of my daughter for a certain day, but have you arranged all that is necessary for the wedding? Have you prepared for my daughter a headdress of silver strips, skirts, clothes...."

Again, much is asked in order to obtain little. The mother-in-law makes excuses: We are poor, times are bad...but she protests

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[273] /37 cont'd/
pounds per person; I demand big and fat sheep...," and everything is settled.

And to say that the two parties knew the conclusions of the discussion beforehand! Palavering is necessary, one must give oneself importance; then, speechifying and chattering are the principal and the most agréeable pastime of people who almost never work in their lives.

585 Most weddings take place after the work in the fields is over, in the months of October, November, and December. About this time the animals are fat, the barns full of grain, and there is something with which to distill, oneself, a kind of gin with spelt. However, one does see rich families who, to demonstrate abundance and well-being, celebrate the marriages of their children in the months of May, June, and July, which are called the "empty" months. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 76: Some time before the wedding they fix a happy day for the ceremony of wedding in accordance with Chinese manual...by Chinese sien-sheng. /Cited in English./

P. 74: Some time before the wedding, the representatives of the bridegroom's clan in a large number, and connected by friendship with the bride's clan people, call upon the bride's father or his substitute, to fix exactly the day of the wedding. But the bride's father refuses to do it. /38/ Then the bridegroom's representatives propose to him a supplementary "kalin". In the past time this consisted only of a pig, which was eaten during the wedding, but it has grown with time and at the present time it can be valued at $100 - 300 paid in pigs or money or goods. Besides, the bridegroom's clan must give some silk

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Mo /38 cont'd/
583 for they know that after her departure they will not be able to get
584 anything more.

10. Marriage without Ceremonies

Mo When a girl has reached marriageable age and the families
585 are too poor to permit themselves the luxury of grand festivities, they proceed in a very simple fashion which they call /39/ "marriage without ceremonies," that is, the girl is taken away without any ceremonies. That is always done the last month of the year, on the ninth, tenth, or eleventh day. The mother-in-law in the company of the go-between goes to get the girl. They take tea with her family, they are served a piece of meat and some bread; then the two of them take the girl away on foot. If the distance is great, they go on horseback. When they arrive at the home of the groom, there is no festivity. The bride, still wearing her hair as unmarried girls wear it, becomes a member of the family as an unmarried girl. (1)

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1. Shirokogbroff, p. 65: The Manchus also adopt the following practice: they take into the family where there is a boy a small girl-for whom they pay her parents a price arranged and she lives in the position of a bride until the boy reached the age of 17, 18. Then they have the marriage ceremony and the young man becomes a husband. They follow this practice when the girl's parents are poor and have many daughters and the boy's parents need a working member in the family. P. 75: When the girl reached the age of 15, 17 years, they make a very modest wedding. /Cited in English./

/39 cont'd/

535 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

535 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the last month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same should the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese T'ou-jen, upon the death of the
505 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

/40 cont'd/

11. Farewell Dinner at the Bride's Home

584 The solemnities begin at the bride's home the day preceding
585 the wedding. They are often richer and noisier than the ones at the groom's home on the day of the wedding. They have a special character. No guest of the groom's family is present at this festivity; it is given solely in honor of the relatives of the bride's family and intimate friends. Nobody is invited. It is up to each one to judge whether his relations with the celebrating family permit his presence. The more influence the family has, the more numerous will be the intimate friends. With us, such an uncertainty about the number of guests would be very annoying for the service and would cause a good many surprises at the dinner. Here, this is the least of their worries, for the custom of bringing loaves of bread in the guise of gifts can provide for every eventuality.

585 In the first place, one notices among the guests the members
582 of the family of the bride's mother. They will never fail to be present at the festivity. They consider their presence not /41/ only a duty but a right; thus their absence would be unjustifiable. The elders of the mother's clan are always present. Truly odd way of thinking, they do not go to the festivity to enhance its solemnity nor to give evidence of their friendship to the family, but tanquam potestatem habentes /"as having authority"/. They see in the girl who is leaving the family their daughter who is leaving them; they wish to be present at her departure and show themselves her protectors. One feels in this the unity of the family, one sees in it a feeling of strong cohesiveness; it is the clan which is there at the dinner. They will absent themselves from the dinner at the groom's home, but never from the one at the bride's.

Among the guests are also seen the members of the paternal side of the girl, friends and neighbors. The members of the mother's family take precedence at the dinner.

585 The Orient is pre-eminently the land of ceremonies; at fes-
[183] tivities the guests require that they be rigorously observed; if not, although treated royally, they will not be satisfied and in the whole region criticisms will go about at a good round pace.

/41 cont'd/

585 Care is taken to invite for the event a master of ceremonies (called Lordziwa, from the Tibetan Lo-rgyus, "narration," "speech"); he will be a man highly regarded in the region, eloquent and adroit. He will make all the necessary arrangements, will give orders, will smooth out all the difficulties which could arise, and will pronounce the traditional speeches at the desired moment. He will have at his disposal two well-trained men, whom he will have close at hand and who will serve the guests at the table.

[342 349] The courtyard is made ready for the festivity, for it is there that it will take place; whether it is freezing hard or pouring rain, no matter. Besides, the T'ou-jen houses have no room which could hold 40 or 50 guests. The courtyard usually being rectangular, they build several masonry supports 20 centimeters high, on which are laid planks which serve as tables. These tables are two feet wide. The planks are not fastened together, are not painted, are not /42/ even covered with tablecloths. Fitted together, they form a single piece and are arranged in a horseshoe. /See illustration 5./ The serving is done from inside the tables. The guests are seated on the outside, on pieces of felt spread out on the ground or on straw. Care is taken to hang cloths above the courtyard, which give the illusion of being seated in a vast tent. The decoration of the courtyard consists of some Chinese paper lanterns hung overhead and some red silk streamers, 30 to 40 centimeters wide, draped lengthwise of the courtyard. In a corner two or three Chinese musicians make a racket.

[372] In the middle of the rectangle of tables burns a large fire, the sacred fire of the shamanists. From time to time they throw cypress branches on the fire as incense. Several paces lower than the fire, in the posterior part of the rectangle, are laid out horizontally on two little walls two doors taken off their hinges; they serve as a table where the presents are displayed. Add a few hens which scratch about in the courtyard, several lambs which clutter up the open space, several children who run between one's legs, and that is pretty much the scene of the festivity.

/42 cont'd/

585 The guests have been arriving since ten o'clock in the morning, some on foot, others on horseback. The guests' mounts are attached to ropes tied to stakes driven into the ground in the area in front of the door, just as nomads do in front of the tent. All the neighbors, on duty, await the guests in this area, who as they arrive are conducted into a room in the side buildings of the courtyard. In the room, on the wall facing the door, is hung a religious image. The guest bows to it, kneeling. A Chinese has taken up his stand on the k'ang; he holds a brush in his hand and writes in the register of festivities the name of the guest and notes conscientiously the gifts he brings. The master of ceremonies takes these, thanks the guest, claims that he has been too generous, and the guest /43/ leaves the room.

585 43/ According to custom, each guest must bring eight loaves of bread cooked in steam; as for the rest, he gives as he pleases. A present of four or six feet of red or green cloth is usually enough. If the guest is an intimate friend of the family, he will give a few feet more, or he will offer a less ordinary kind of cloth, or he will add to his gifts 800 cash strung on a red cord with a strand of white wool at the end. Every family keeps these registers of donors; for later in similar circumstances the register is there to inform them as to the fashion in which the givers will be treated in their turn.

[604] Custom determines only the presents the mother's family will offer. The maternal uncles of the bride must give her a skirt; the maternal aunts give her a pair of boots or a pair of parti-colored sleeves, or a piece of cloth ten feet long. These formalities taken care of, the guest is conducted into the front building where he greets the heads of the family and is immediately served tea with milk and some bread. Having drunk his cup of tea, he leaves the room to make room for other guests and to mingle with the group which is standing in the courtyard.

585 Toward two o'clock in the afternoon no more guests arrive; everyone takes his place in the courtyard in front of the tables set up, the women on one side and the men on the other. If there is a guest of note, he takes his place at the table of honor, which backs [604] up to the front building, with the maternal uncles of the bride.

/43 cont'd/

585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

585 264 285 At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/ guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen; the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without cracks.

585 273 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main 585 263 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn. 264 The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to [415] each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con- [263] taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'ou-jen do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento, [263] and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

/44 cont'd/
585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /15/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
585 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organi-
262 zation of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

M /46 cont'd/
231 pigs. With their tsao tchou, i.e., "pigs which live on plants," they are the great suppliers of pigs for the capital of the province.

M We have arrived at the chief attraction of the wedding.
585 They begin by spreading out the presents the parents made to
431 their girl and to the family of the bride /sic/. This display is pre-
583 sented on the doors laid out for the purpose in front of the shamanistic fire within the tables. For people of average means the gifts are usually composed of the following pieces:

For the girl:
1) three long garments of checked calico with lining, a green garment, another of red, a third violet
2) two long plain garments, blue and black
3) two skirts
4) one long padded garment
5) three plain trousers
6) three or four waistcoats (bolero type), blue, black, violet
7) one large hat for feast days
8) several belts each 12 feet long, parti-colored or embroidered
9) four or five pairs of sleeves in varied colors
10) five or six pairs of artistically embroidered sleeves
11) some ten pairs of leggings
12) a long garment of black sheep's wool
13) a belt of black sheep's wool (1)

HM 1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking,
585 Vol. 2, p. 308: (among the Mongols) when everything is agreed upon, the parents of the bride are obligated to construct for her a yurt, provided with everything necessary for a household, /47/ so that she does not need to ask for anything from others. Then she is given all that concerns her toilette and even a saddled horse on which she is to go to her husband's home.

/47 cont'd/

585 For the son-in-law: 1) Chinese cap
431
383 2) lined or plain garment of checked calico, blue in color
3) belt of red cloth 12 feet long
4) leggings or boots, never trousers
5) a big Tibetan k'ata, which will be put around his neck (1)

1. K'ata (Tibetan, khabtags) ... is a pale-blue silk scarf, very primitively woven; it is offered among the T'ou-jen to persons whom one wishes to honor or from whom one expects a service; it is even offered to the gods. Very pretty ones are found, blue or white, of first quality, very long, with Buddhist pictures; they are offered only on important occasions and to persons of note.

For the grandfather: a piece of felt
For the grandmother: a long, plain garment or a skirt
585 For the son-in-law's father: a piece of felt
431 For the son-in-law's mother: a long garment or a skirt
583 For the paternal uncles of son-in-law: a pillow
602 For the paternal aunts of the son-in-law: leggings
[287] For the son-in-law's brothers: leggings, pillow, or k'ata
For the little sisters of the son-in-law: two feet of white cloth serving as a handkerchief
For the big sisters of the son-in-law: a piece of red cloth four feet long
For the maternal uncle of the son-in-law: the gift of honor, a big k'ata, and a string of large cash strung on red cord with a strand of white wool
For the go-between: a pair of boots and a string of cash or six strings of cash and a pillow.

In rich families the fabrics will be of the best quality; in addition they will have a hat of silver strips, two or three pairs of ear-

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings....It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pen family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the king of Orat of the confederation of Olanish'ah, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Ortos, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Saimnoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

/49 cont'd/

585 604 The master of ceremonies moves toward the girl's maternal uncle, makes three bows in the Chinese manner, and invites him to take his place beside her. The uncle comes forward, stands beside the girl. The assemblage rises and stares silently at the scene.

The master of ceremonies presents a cup of wine to the maternal uncle and invites him to empty it. He reiterates the gesture three times. After this he offers to the seated girl two cups, which she grasps in each hand; he puts in them a red lozenge and pours wine in them. She holds the full cups in front of her at the level of her mouth. At this moment the master of ceremonies makes this speech to her:

"Your maternal uncle, the master of your bones, is at your side; the whole family is present here; your departure is set for tomorrow. From the time of our ancestors, at the dividing up of the family property, one whole part used to revert to the son, and to the daughter half of this amount. Present times no longer permit such a division, there comes to you no more than several pieces of clothing"; then, he names one by one the gifts which the family gives her and shows them to those present, without forgetting to state the color, the quality of the fabric.... He likewise enumerates the gifts prepared for the son-in-law and his family. Addressing himself again to the girl, he says, "Your parents have certainly done all that they could for you; and they would have done more, but their means did not permit it. Be glad, be very grateful to your parents, do not forget them, see, your maternal uncle and the whole family will always be 'at your back.' " Then the girl weeps bitterly, and according to custom she must manifest the greatest sorrow.

The whole assemblage is under the spell of the moment, a tear forms in many eyes. Two women come /50/ to get the girl and take her back....

585 614 604 This ceremony gives one something to think about, all the more because it is not explainable in a patriarchal organization where the daughter is the true property of her father, her grandfather, or rather the paternal clan. What is this maternal uncle with all his clan doing, he who will always be the protector of the girl, who will always be "at her back?" This duty is really incumbent on the paternal clan.

M 585 614 604 /50 cont'd/ Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more importance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?

M 585 795 771 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is without question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.

M 585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

M [262] After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are invited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M 585 583 /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests, and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

HM 585 1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

/51 cont'd/

HM 585

HM [262]

affinal kin of the girl. The young man, accompanied by his family and friends, sometimes up to a hundred persons, goes to the father-in-law's with several dishes of cooked mutton; the rich have up to 20 different dishes brought along with a great quantity of brandy and khadak; all the guests are already assembled in the yurt of the latter. After they have worshiped the idols, they present khadak to the father-in-law, the mother-in-law, and the closest relatives. Then all the guests go out from the yurt, sit down in a circle, and the meal begins; it consists of meat, wine, and tea in bricks. When the feast is over, the husband with his followers sometimes goes to repeat it at the homes of other close relatives of the wife-to-be. This feast is called khorim kourghetzou, "offer of the nuptial feast." Then it is that the husband-to-be, and often his father and mother, receive rich clothing on behalf of the future wife. Moreover, the husband does not have the satisfaction of courting his future wife, for according to the custom of the Mongols, from the day of betrothal she must avoid any meeting not only with her lover but even with his parents. It is also at this feast that, in response to the solicitations of the future husband's mother, the two parties consult the lama who chooses a lucky day for the wedding.

M 585

The festivity draws to a close. The master of ceremonies who has counted the guests has ascertained that he cannot keep them

/51 cont'd/

585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

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/52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gin spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

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The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

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[177]

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1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

/53 cont'd/

539 831 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes her big hairpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches....O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-[illegible]. (1)

[17]

1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Études asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"... third-century Chinese poem by d'Ardouseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by C. Cordier.

585 533 539 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

/54 cont'd/

539 she drives home the dagger under the armpit of Wang-mang, who is sleeping dead drunk beside her.

A flying courier carried the news of this exploit to Peking. The Judith saw herself bestowed with honorary titles, and her husband received the hereditary position of t'ou-se of Lien-tch'eng. This is the origin of the glory of the Lou clan.

In the lamasery at Lien-tch'eng are still kept two dried-up black hands, which are claimed to be those of Wang-mang. The T'ou-jen regard them with veneration. Unfortunately, they are two right hands! In addition, the origin of the function of t'ou-se of the Lou clan is entirely otherwise, as we shall see in the historical part of our work. The only fact to be retained from this legend is that there was in the region a robber named Wang-mang.

12. Getting the Bride

585 The Chinese diviner or the red lama has previously set the favorable hour at which the bride is to leave her paternal home. This departure can be set for any hour of the day or night. Therefore everything is prepared in order that the ceremonial be finished by the favorable hour of departure, which is called the mari funig., or the hour when one mounts the saddle. The bridegroom goes to get his bride, with two companions well versed in the ways and cus-
585 toms and knowing how to sing well; often the go-between goes with
292 them. The son-in-law has put on his best /55/ clothes and wears the great ceremonial hat with red fringe (the one of the ancient dynasty of the Manchu); red cords are plaited into his hair. He carries a bow of olden times; on the end of the bow is attached a strand of red wool. A quiver worn on a strap over his shoulder con-
[411] tains four arrows. Upon his return home he will hang the bow above the window of the nuptial room where his wife will be brought, and the four arrows will be hung in each corner of the room. According to custom, the companions must wear a long, white garment of sheep's wool, a garment rarely worn by the men in the area.

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Mo 585 231 492 The son-in-law always rides horseback on this occasion. If the distance is great, the two companions will also ride horseback; if it is short they will go on foot. They lead the horse which the bride will mount. This horse must be a mare or a stallion; if it is a mare, it cannot be pregnant. The horse's trappings are of no importance. They have been careful to put a bag full of straw on the horse's mane, on which the bride will lean during the whole trip; a rug or a piece of red felt covers the saddle; the horse wears small bells. The companions drag along a two-year-old sheep, which they will offer to the family upon their arrival. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, p. 77: When the day of wedding is fixed, they send invitations written on red paper to all relatives and honorary guests....All acts concerning the wedding ceremonies, invitations of the guests, presents and so on must be registered in a special book and made according to the calendar and hours fixed in advance....

The day before the day of the wedding, they go to bring the bride to the bridegroom's father's house...in a special carriage.... As soon as the carriage is ready for the road, the bridegroom kneels down in front to "inbe" (wooden screen put in the yard) and several times touches the soil soundly with his forehead. They burn as incense the Chinese ajen hen, fixed in a cup with the black beans, that have generally a very important part during the wedding ceremony.... Usually they leave the bridegroom's house in the afternoon calculating to arrive at the bride's house before the

Mo 585 /56 cont'd/

Then the bridegroom's party without saying the purpose of their visit insists in being let in. After long negotiations they let them enter in, for a price of 5 - 7 - 9 pieces of red paper, symbolising money, some black beans and charcoal, all made of paper. If the weather is not cold the negotiations are very long. /Cited in English./

Mo 583 585 /56/ When they have arrived at the home of the bride, they find the door shut and barricaded. They knock at the door for a long time, calling the people. The women answer from inside, but they refuse to open the door. Then the companions beg them by singing. This song is improvised on a desired /voulu/ melody. They sing, for example, that they have come by mountains and valleys..., which they are careful to describe...; the family is renowned for its hospitality; why don't they open up this time? They are so tired, they come from so far, they are good people..., but they do not speak of the purpose of their trip. The women answer by singing, "We will open the door to you if you can answer our questions." Again improvisations. An example: Did the sun precede the moon, or the moon the sun? Did the bow exist before the arrow, or the arrow before the bow? Did the jug exist before the cup, or the cup before the jug? Answer: The moon was before the sun..., etc. Why so? The sun came second for heating; the bow followed the arrow for the happiness of military men, the pitcher for the good of hosts.

Mo 585 It is obviously very pointless; it is endless; let us note that one is quickly in trivialities and broad jokes.

The women end up by drawing the bolts noisily, but they continue to push against the door. The men /57/ outside push with vigor, while somebody throws an avalanche of water on their heads from above. The son-in-law keeps his distance. Finally the door is opened. (1)

Mi Lo 585 /57 cont'd/

1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'ou-jen. "Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan/" in Politique de Péking, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

Mo 585 782 After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece Mo 582 292 of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

585 /57 cont'd/
[292] the eardrops, as well as the large pin which fastens the headdress to the coil of hair.

The dinner is not delayed; a sheep is served whole, as well as a dish of noodles. Things are not dragged out. Let us note that the guests who have spent the night are at the dinner and are present at the farewell ceremonies.

/58/ The two companions rise, take out from their bags two new jugs of gin, and offer a round to everyone present, bidding them to help everything go off in good order, for the ceremonial hour designated for taking away the bride has struck. They open the second flask immediately, pour for everybody in the same way, "and this," they say, "is to invite you all to the wedding dinner, which will take place today at our place."

Then they proceed to the dressing of the bride. She is seated in
[177] a side room on a little Chinese table on which is unfolded a piece of red felt. The bridegroom is invited by the family to enter the room. The bride keeps her eyes lowered and does not even greet him. It is the bridegroom's task to undo the unmarried girl's braid of his bride. There are always three red strings in the coil of hair; the bridegroom takes them out and puts one in his pocket. The two others will then be attached to the iang hstia (1) and kept in the family so that the

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1. The iang hstia is the family's good-luck talisman. It is an iron rod two to three feet long fixed in a bulky and wide wooden base. Attached to it are little strands of wool, hair from the tails of cows and pigs and from horse manes', red strings, ends of k'ata; on the base, carved in the shape of a saucer, are seen grains of wheat, millet, colza.... The iang hstia is held in honor by the family; it has its place beside the spirit which is honored there, and is itself honored. The T'ou-jen believe that

/58 cont'd/

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their good fortune is attached to the persons of their children, to the animals they raise, to the grain they cultivate. When a daughter is given in marriage, it is good fortune which goes away; when animals are sold, it is wealth which abandons them.... Now to keep good fortune and wealth from leaving the family, they take from the braid of the daughter given in marriage the two red strings, which they attach to the lang hsia, they take hairs from the animals, they keep some grains of the cereals they sell. Favors received from spirits cannot be sold; so they believe they are in order with the spirits by keeping a souvenir of the favors received. They will therefore kneel before the lang hsia as before the spirits.

585 family's good fortune may not go away with the daughter who is leaving the home. The son-in-law takes the new comb he has brought, passes it three times through his own hair, then three times through that of his bride. The third time he leaves it in her hair and goes out of the room.

The door of the room is closed, and the women inside comb and dress the bride. The two recent singers /59/ had brought a red [823] garment for her, because the bride must be dressed all in red today. Nevertheless, she sometimes covers her head with a green veil. The two companions stay in front of the bride's room and intone the song of the toilette while the women inside hurry to finish their task. They are heard singing, "We who are named Li have come to the home of the honorable Wang family with a comb having an even number of teeth; we have not learned to comb hair, we beg you, comb the girl's hair with art in our place.... We have brought earrings, we beg you to put them on her," and so on for all the pieces of attire.

/59 cont'd/

585 And they continue to sing, "On the spot where the bride is seated, later will sit sons and grandsons....On the ground she treads on you will find grain, money, wealth...."

585 292 The toilette is finished. A veil of coarse red cloth entirely envelops the bride's head and is tied around her neck with a red cord so that she cannot see anything any more. There are some areas where the veil is no longer tied around the neck.

585 262 Meanwhile, the master of ceremonies has laid out before the religious image a table on which is noticed a cup of milk, a cypress branch to which is attached a strand of wool, a bushel measure containing wheat, with a prayer book in Tibetan characters on top of the grain, another lighted lamp, and a bundle of chopsticks. If there is a red lama in the house, he begins to intone the farewell prayers. The mother of the girl is seated alone on the ground in front of the table, facing the image. The door opens with a din. The bride, veiled and yelling, is carried seated on a piece of felt, either by four women or by a brother, who holds her in his arms. They run around the table, carrying the bride. They leave the room abruptly, and at the moment of leaving, one of the women carriers, /60/ takes the chopsticks laid on the bushel of grain and throws them impetuously on the mother's knees. Everything is done with precipitation and abruptness. The singers continue their songs while the girl is carried outside. "When your daughter comes back, your courtyard will be full of horses and oxen, your house will be rebuilt with a second story and a veranda, the lintel of the door will have become one of gold." They continue their songs outside: "It is the auspicious time to mount on horseback; it is the auspicious time for the horsemen to mount in the saddle; it is time to take the great highway to the north (or to the south)."

The bride is put in the saddle by her brothers, and the singers do not stop singing while dancing in cadence and making their long white garments float. There are places where a man also mounts on horseback behind the bride and holds her in his arms. This rider is a member of the family but never one of her brothers.

The son-in-law and the go-between have gone ahead. The horse which the bride rides is led to the middle of the area in front

Mo /60 cont'd/
585 of the house. Her father, also on horseback and holding the lang hstia in his hands, gesticulates like a madman, pretending to stop his daughter's departure. His horse is led three times around the open space; he calls his daughter with loud cries. She answers each time, shouting, "I am here, yes, here." On the third time around the father on horseback is led into his house but on the side opposite to the one from which his daughter will go.

The side from which the departure is to be made has been carefully indicated by the diviner; it is the way on which the spirit of good fortune awaits. Then the women of the family, those of the neighborhood, and the neighborhood girls run after the bride's horse and keep him from advancing. The singers throw them some cash to make them let go the bridle, but the girls continue to follow the bride the whole day. They hold each other's hands, sing, and caper. This scene does not lack picturesqueness and poetry. They follow their friend to the bridegroom's house, and they go around the farm, /61/ singing and holding each other by the hand. The bridegroom's family then gives each girl three cash, three loaves of bread cooked in oil, and a piece of pork, and they go back without going in. (1)

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[585]

1. Schotter, "Notes ethnogr. sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year, Vol. 2, p. 320: If you meet a group of young Miao girls on the highway, it will be a bride going on foot with her companions to her husband's house. The joyful troop will come back the same day of the wedding.

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585 This practice is called āgu dzüradzin (āgu, i.e., "paternal aunt," term of respect for women; dzüradzin, i.e., "to follow," "to run after someone"). It is the pursuit of the lady.

The bride must have a companion; for this, they always look for a beautiful young woman who is alert and resourceful, who will follow her on horseback. She is always a woman who has children; a little page, riding pillion, clings behind her.

M 585 /61 cont'd/

[431 178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home... then she is

M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the

M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for...). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

/62 cont'd/

HM 585

friends (German translation: vigorous women friends), and more particularly in former days when the bride was tied, when she was held back by the sleeves of her dress, or when they were attached to the yurt. At half a verst of the way /translator's note: possibly "halfway"/, the husband-to-be sends wine and meat to refresh the bride and those who accompany her. Upon her arrival she remains surrounded by her companions until her yurt is ready. As soon as she enters it, she is seated on a bed. The numerous plaits of hair which she wore as a girl are undone, her coral ornaments are removed, and after they put some ornaments on the two plaits left, she is dressed in the clothes that a married woman wears.

HM 301

M 585

Because of her regrets and sorrow the bride does not address herself to anyone during the whole trip; according to custom, she cannot speak to anyone. The bridegroom's family sends two groups to meet the procession, and a third waits near the house. The two groups greet the guests on the road and offer them tea and gin. They have lighted a large fire right in the road where the guests can warm themselves in the winter and light their pipe. They get off their horses to go near the fire, then the procession continues.

M 571 777 484

Since all marriages are always celebrated on special auspicious days, it is not rare to see nuptial processions meet. The custom then is that the processions stop. The young T'ou-jen bride, who has carefully put away her new comb in a piece of red cloth, takes it out and exchanges it with the unknown bride. Without speaking to each other and without being able to see each other, sobbing, they exchange their good-luck tokens. Touching little scene.

Mo 585 484 784

/63/

The travelers who meet a nuptial procession always make a detour to avoid it for fear that the evil spirit which is supposed to follow the bride will bring them misfortune. (1)

Ma 585

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 80-81: (Those who have come to get the bride dine after taking tea.) An old experienced man, who must belong to the bride's clan, gives orders (master of ceremonies)....(Two girls of the bride's clan and a little boy are seated at dinner near the friend who comes to get the bride. In the morning, people get up early and eat. The bridegroom steals the chopsticks he has used and goes out into the courtyard....) During this meal the bride's clan women dress the bride. During the dressing she cries, or pretends to cry. When she is ready, nobody says her goodbye, and (the master of ceremonies) cries: the bride is ready. Then the bridegroom and all his party run hastily towards the carriage to put as quickly as possible the horses on the carriage. At the same time the crying and resisting bride is carried by her brothers, who throw her into the carriage that must be run out the yard as soon as possible. After this it can be stopped to arrange the harness. Usually the bride's brothers escort on horseback the bridal caravan. The customs of the ancient Manchus differ a little from these of the modern Manchus. For ex.: the bridegroom enters the bride's house only with his aid...prays to the bride's clan spirits...after this sits down on a small basket (for chickens /in English/) to await

/63 cont'd/

Ma 585

the ritual meal. When the meal is ready they invite him to take a very modest place near the door on the right "k'ang," while his aid and driver occupy the principal place. The bridegroom and his aid do not steal the chopsticks. When the bride is put into the carriage the bridegroom goes to thank the bride's mother,...before going away he prays once more the bride's clan's spirits. (The presents from the bride's family and from her mother's brother and his wife are taken to the son-in-law's home the very morning of the wedding day. The women who accompany the convoy will open the boxes with much ceremony and will allow the gifts received by the bride to be admired....) /Cited in English with connecting phrases in French, indicated by parentheses./

/64/ 13. Arrival of the Bride in her New Family

Mo 585

The procession has arrived at its destination. Two young women are there waiting for the bride outside the great door. Their ages and the animals of their cycle must be in complete harmony with those of the bride; moreover, they cannot be widows nor pregnant, and all their children must be alive.

The bridegroom helps his bride down from her horse; first he puts her on a little Chinese table and then on a piece of red or white felt in front of another little table on which have been placed two cups of tea and two plates of bread. A bushel of bran has been put at the door. With the bride standing on the felt, the two women hasten to put under her arm a small jug of gin in which a pair of chopsticks have been put. A piece of red cloth covers the neck and

/64 cont'd/

585 envelops the chopsticks. Then the son-in-law places himself on the left side of the bride, near enough to her so that his arm touches hers, and so that she knows when she must go ahead and stop. At the moment when they enter the courtyard, pieces of red felt are spread in their path one after the other. Cash, symbol of wealth, are thrown in front of them, and likewise wheat, symbol of fecundity. The couple is led straight to the kitchen where the T'ou-jen honor the god of the hearth. There the jug and the chopsticks which she held are taken from the bride, and these objects are put down before the god of the hearth, whom the bride salutes with three prostrations. (1)

1. "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen /On Fire Worship among the Mongols/," by N. Poppe, Asia Major, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 141-142.

[776 782]

As can be seen from the above, much depends on the fire god. It is no wonder, then, that the young bride, when she first steps across the threshold of the new house, must bow in front of the hearth. By this act she puts herself under the protection of the fire god, since this same figure is the guardian spirit of the family. /Cited in German./

/65/ We have seen that at the bride's departure chopsticks were thrown on her mother's lap. This gesture meant that she no longer belonged to the clan; here, as soon as she arrives, she is incorporated into the bridegroom's family by being offered another pair of chopsticks and presenting them to the god of the hearth. From the kitchen she is led to the nuptial chamber, her head still veiled. On the four corners of the k'ang (1) have been put several cash, two

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1. K'ang: stove used in the north, on which the family spends the night.

packages of sugar, and some red lozenges.

/65 cont'd/

585 Four bundles of straw burn at the four corners of the courtyard; it is hoped that the smoke will rise straight up. An oil lamp, in which [354] two wicks of equal length have been placed, is put in front of the religious image in the main building and is lighted as soon as the bride has entered the nuptial chamber. They look at the lamp attentively without touching it in order to see which of the two wicks, the one on the right side or the one on the left, will go out first. In this is seen an omen for the long life of the husband and wife; the right wick designates the girl, the left the boy.

The bride's maid of honor accepted the cup of gin presented to her when she dismounted. She dipped her finger in it and sprinkled some toward the four cardinal directions; then she touched the wine with her lips. She did the same for the bread and tea which were presented. Only after performing this rite did she follow the bride into the nuptial chamber, whose door was closed behind her. She is not given anything to eat or drink as long as the marriage rite is not finished.

As soon as the bride crossed the threshold of the door and entered the courtyard, the go-between took his place in the middle of it, [263] holding in his hands a cup of flour made from parched wheat; he ate some flour and drank some gin each time the bride passed through the courtyard, either going to the kitchen or returning to the nuptial chamber.

The other guests do not enter then but go toward the open area in front of the house. A little table has been placed /66/ in the middle of the area, and on it are seen a well-done sheep, several more legs of mutton, a pig's head, some sausages.... In front of the [262 604] table is spread out a piece of red felt on which is seated the bridegroom's maternal uncle. Here he seems to fill the post of head of the family as did the maternal uncle of the bride in his niece's family. Gin is being warmed over a small fire.

Upon the arrival of the guests the bridegroom's father has gone to meet them with the traditional k'ata on both hands. He greets each of them by putting the k'ata on their hands. This is the ceremony of welcome.

/66 cont'd/

● 585 A member of the family says aloud, "The sheep will be divided into five parts. The first will be for the maternal uncle, the second for the father, the third and fourth for each of the two singers, and the fifth for the master of ceremonies. Then the guests tackle the legs of mutton, the sausages, etc. After this appetizer the guests of the bride's family are invited to enter the courtyard. The placement of the tables for the feast inside the courtyard is the same as at the bride's home on the day of the dinner.

[604 262] The bride's maternal uncle and the go-between are invited to be seated in the place of honor. Tea is poured, and loaves of bread cooked in steam are served hot. As soon as the tea is drunk, the two singers from before appear, holding in their hands a teapot whose spout is coated with butter. They pour the buttered tea for all those present, who understand by this rite that they are asked to give up their places to the guests of the bridegroom's family, who will be served tea and bread like them. The bridegroom's family has treated its own guests in the same way as the bride's family treated its guests: introduction into a side room, presentation of gifts, notation in the register....(1)

[71]

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 82, 83, 84: Every guest is obliged to give some present which cannot be less than $1 in value, or in money. They have a special book in which they inscribe all guests' names and presents. The guests whose presents are of value are inscribed in a red paper, which is fixed near the front door. Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard. The women who arrived with them conduct the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen. /Cited in English./

/67/

14. Gifts of the Bride's Family to that of the Bridegroom

● 585 431 All the guests remain standing at the back of the courtyard, and it is before them that the presents from the bride's family are taken out of the boxes. They are displayed on the doors inside the rectangle of tables. First the new clothes which her parents give to her are handed over to the bride, and her maid of honor hurries to put them on her in her room. There are also the new clothes for the bridegroom, who likewise puts them on.

The bride's family's master of ceremonies takes his place inside the rectangle of tables near the sacred fire. The bride, dressed in her new clothes, the veil always on her head, leaves her room and is led by her maid of honor inside the rectangle on the right side of the red felt. The bridegroom takes his place beside her on the left, his arm touching the bride's. A young man places himself behind him; the bride's maid of honor is behind her. They kneel on the pieces of felt, having in front of them a table on which two lighted lamps are placed, and on whose four corners are put four small packages of cash.

The master of ceremonies begins his speech: "We, the bride's family, have invited as guests the go-between, the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts of the bride, as well as their sons and daughters...." All the guests from the bride's clan come forward to take their places in the upper part of the courtyard. The master of ceremonies speaking in the name of the bride's family first presents the k'ata to each guest of the groom's family; then gin is poured for everyone. "Now," he continues, "I have a word to say: before the wolf, the dog is afraid to bark; before great men, little people are afraid to open their mouths. If what I am going to say is well said, do not praise me; if what I am going to say is badly said, excuse me.... /68/ In olden times the ancestors used to proceed to marriages only when the limits of the lands were well established. (Nobody [423] has been able to explain this passage to me; this fact seems to lack sense as much in a nomadic organization as in the present-day agrarian one in which the T'ou-jen live. Actually, today the T'ou-jen

585/68 cont'd/
431 are all owners with personal title, all their properties are demarcated;
423 therefore it is no longer a question of demarcating lands. Is this an allusion to a previous social condition no longer remembered?)

585 "Generations have succeeded generations. When an idol of
539 Buddha is old and lusterless and when it is giled anew, it is again shining and beautiful to see; when one puts a brand-new border around an old garment, the garment has gained much by it; when to the old relations between families new ones are added, they become all the stronger. Among you was born a boy who had all the virtues of the lion; among us was born a girl like the "khuĭ t shiąn" (mythological bird). It was the ideal combination for a marriage. But how would this union have been able to be accomplished? (The cupbearer pours wine for the go-between and bows to him.) If one does not see clouds in the sky, no rain will fall; if there are no go-betweens on the earth, there will be no marriages. (1) What was too high, you, go-between,

1. Compare Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320, Schotter, "Notes ethnogra. sur tribus du Koei tcheou": Just as thunder and lightning pave the way for rain, so go-betweens are necessary to pave the way for marriages.

have lowered; what was too low, you have raised; the high and the low have met on the same level like the lever arm of the balance. You have leveled off the way on which the two parties have traveled.

"In olden times they used to thank the go-between for his services by dressing him in new clothes from head to foot; but the feeble means of our poor family allow us to offer you only a pair of boots and a string of cash. We hope nevertheless that you will be satisfied."

585 /69/ After giving the gift to the go-between the orator usually
608 addresses the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. The cupbearer bows to him and pours gin for him. "When a son," he says, "has no wai-kia (the son calls his mother's family wai-kia /Chinese term for one's mother's family, literally, "outside family"/, i.e., all her relatives,

585 /69 cont'd/
608 brothers, sisters...), then when the son sees that his mother has no relatives, it is a sign for him that his mother's origin is not pure. When a wife has no niang-kia /literally, "wife's family"/ (the wife
608 calls her own parents, brothers and sisters her niang-kia), then when
585 the relatives of a wife are not known, it is a sign for her that her
431 origin is doubtful. Formerly, a handsome horse used to be given to
[604] the bride's maternal uncle, master of his sister's children. But times are changed; although you are the principal guest, nowadays we give only the k'ata; we give you a fine one, a big one, do not refuse it...." Then the orator addresses the parents of the bridegroom: "During the day your heart, always occupied with the children, cannot be at rest; even at night, you cannot sleep. Such solicitude truly deserves several garments and fine gifts; but you know our indigence; when we stretch out our arms, the sleeves of our garments are too short and the arms stick out from them; at night when we stretch out our legs, our feet stick out from the covers, which are too short. What misery! If we had been able to follow the inclinations of our hearts, you would have had splendid gifts." Then the cupbearer advances toward the grandfather, bows to him, and presents gin to him. "Grandfather," continues the orator, "we present you with a brand-new piece of felt, unfortunately it is too narrow, too short, too thin, and it is badly made in the bargain, but deign to accept it anyway."

The cupbearer advances toward the grandmother. "We give you a garment made of very bad cloth and very badly made, but deign to accept it"; and the ceremony continues thus in the same vein for the father, mother, etc., as was said in No. 11. This scene is often rather picturesque and /70/ brightens up faces; the grandfather must sit down on the piece of felt, the grandmother is dressed in the garment, they have a good time....

585 The orator addresses the bride and groom last: "In olden times,"
431 he says, "sons-in-law used to receive several complete costumes; moreover, they were given in hand a fine bow, a quiver, and arrows; in addition a fine horse. Unfortunately, those good times have vanished, and the parents-in-law offer you only..." (see No. 11).

M /70 cont'd/
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431 "And you, our daughter, you are also the child of your times. Formerly, the gifts which the parents gave to their daughter were so numerous that they had to be transported on wagons or a whole herd of oxen was loaded with them. We give you the following gifts (see No. 11). Truly they are insignificant; it is as if we were giving a naked daughter to the mother-in-law.

'To you all, relatives by marriage, we pour wine, be indulgent and content.' Then the master of ceremonies out loud orders the bride and groom to kneel to the whole assemblage; then wine is poured for all the guests. (1)

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1. Father De Smedt gives me a variation of the master of ceremonies' speech, although noting that the T'ou-jen from whom he got it even told him that he had forgotten a good deal about the subject. Although this speech is incomplete, it contains variations which are worth the trouble of being kept: "A dog does not dare bark in the presence of a tiger, thus it is not fitting for a little man like me to speak before an assemblage as respectable as yours. A horse of small size does not run fast, they say; thus the words of a man without merit are insignificant. If you succeed in understanding my words, do not attach any importance to them; if you do not understand them, do not make fun of me. When an old statue is newly gilded, when a brand-new border is put on an old garment.... Thus it is a praiseworthy practice always to become related to families with which marriages have been contracted for many generations...." The rest is about as we have related above.

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583 Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 305. The dowry of the girl consists,

HM 583 /70 cont'd/

apart from clothing and utensils, of a certain quantity of ewes and horses (among the Mongols).

/71/ 15. The Wedding

M ●585 Then they proceed to the marriage ceremony as such. This most solemn ceremony of all recalls Biblical times to us, first because of its profoundly religious character, and then because of the old man officiating.

M [603 604] Actually, this office belongs by right to the grandfather in the bridegroom's family. When the grandfathers are dead, the maternal uncle takes their place. The name given to the old man who officiates is very characteristic: he is called šürödžin khun, which means literally "the man who gives the blessing." Indeed, it is the old man who orders the prostrations to be made to heaven, to the spirits, to the members of the family and clan, and it is he who pronounces the wishes for good fortune and prosperity, the bringing about of which is awaited from heaven and the spirits. Thus we are in the presence of a religious rite in the full force of the term, a rite which reveals the capital importance attached to marriage. Besides it leaves an unusual impression on the assemblage.

All those present are standing. The bridegroom is on his knees at the left of the bride, whose head is still enveloped in the red cloth; the maid of honor is on her knees behind the bride, likewise a young man behind the bridegroom. Then the grandfather advances and takes his place standing near the sacred fire; he orders in the midst of the greatest silence:

M 585 181 THAT THE FIRST PROSTRATION BE MADE TO HEAVEN AND TO THE MULTIFARIOUS SPIRITS.

Dĕ thurõŋ thorguĕ šge thiaŋgeri olon phurgán ńiandu murgu.

The bride and groom, the maid of honor and the young man make the great Chinese prostration: three genuflections and as many bows, touching the ground with the forehead. All is done solemnly and simultaneously.

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585 181 THAT THE SECOND PROSTRATION BE MADE TO THE FATHER AND MOTHER AND TO THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY.

Dē gŏrda thorguē āni awa khudugu ŝgesdu murgu.

THAT THE THIRD BE MADE TO THE PERSONS OF THE MOTHER'S CLAN AND TO THE WHOLE CLAN.

Dē gŭrānda thorguē urug tharug imag saru ñiandu murgu.

Then in the midst of the greatest silence he continues in a solemn voice:

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD SEVEN FARMS!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD HOUSES WITH A SECOND STORY AND A VERANDA!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO SHEAR SEVERAL HUNDRED SHEEP ANNUALLY!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO MOUNT HUNDREDS OF HORSES AND RAISE HERDS OF HUNDREDS OF OXEN!

MAY YOUR SONS BE NUMEROUS: SO THAT YOU MAY SEE YOUR GRANDSONS STILL MORE NUMEROUS!

MAY YOUR FAMILY BE FECUND AND OVERFLOWING WITH PROSPERITY LIKE THE SEA WHICH OVERFLOWS!

MAY YOU BE DURABLE AS IRON!

MAY YOU DAY BY DAY BECOME RICHER AND MORE POWERFUL LIKE FIRE ON WHICH OIL IS POURED!

585 Then the old men and the parents throw some cash on the felt at the feet of the young couple. The maid of honor removes the veil from the young wife and leads her into the nuptial chamber. The two lamps which burn on the table in the middle of the courtyard are taken away to be put before the religious image, where they will burn as long as there is any oil.

[793] Let us note the absence at this marriage ceremony of any religious personnel, shaman, lama, tao-jen /Taoist priest/; let us notice in addition that it does not take place in a temple, but that it is performed in the home, under the authority of the head of the family, in front of the ancient shamanistic sacred fire, and under the patronage of "heaven and the multifarious spirits." Marriage among the T'ou-jen is then, incontestably, /73/ something other than a simple union of the sexes. The wishes for prosperity enunciated

2. Schram--81 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2
Manchu AG4

/73 cont'd/

Mo 585

by the "old man who blesses" for the benefit of the young married couple make one see clearly what is expected of this union, on whose behalf is awaited the bringing about of these wishes, and how marriage is viewed in time; certainly it is not regarded as a temporary union. (1)

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1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 311. The bride is dressed in the clothes of a married woman and taken to the home of her father-in-law to make a bow (mourgoulekou) to him. She finds gathered there all the relatives and friends of her future husband. During the reading of the prayers of the ritual, her face is hidden, and following the various movements of a man who serves as a guide for her and who is always chosen as being of the same age as she, she bows first toward the fire, then toward the father and mother and the other closest relatives of her husband-to-be; all give her their blessing (youroughel) aloud. During this ceremony, clothing and other objects are distributed to them on her behalf. The father-in-law, according to a previous agreement, has chosen those which suit him....Then the bride returns to her yurt.

Ma 585

Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 82, 83, 84: Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard.... The woman who arrived with them conducts the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen: they put the bride by the bridegroom's right hand and burn Chinese incense. The bride and

/73 cont'd/

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16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

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Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person. Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony, she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

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The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

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The guests of the two families have taken their places at the tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

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of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

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This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always begin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/ pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

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18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family

They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary [262] for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food.

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

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585 431 The master of ceremonies of the son-in-law's family then takes the floor to distribute the traditional gifts to the daughter-in-law's family. The son-in-law remains kneeling, holding his horse by the bridle.

585 604 431 The master of ceremonies first addresses the maternal uncle of the daughter-in-law. The cupbearer bows to him and offers gin to him three times in a row. He begins with the saying, "Nan tch'ou wai kia, niu tch'ou niang kio," i.e., "the boy has the physique and the moral nature of his mother's family, and the girl those of her own relatives /parents/.

"Now you, maternal uncle, you are the representative of the family stock of our new daughter-in-law; it is fitting therefore to present to you, /76/ before doing so to all the others, our respectful compliments. We offer you the great ritual k'ata and a sheep. We should give you a cow according to tradition, but times have changed. Receive with good will." Formerly, the maternal uncle used to receive a cow on behalf of his mother's family; today he is given a sheep as at the home of the son-in-law. Next he addresses the go-between, for whom they pour the gin...."Formerly the go-between was given a complete costume, but times are no longer the same.... We present to you a string of cash, be satisfied...."

585 431 Then it is the turn of the bride's maid of honor; they pour gin for her. They give her a piece of cloth four feet long, a goat, 600 cash. But she hastens to protest with vehemence (it is the tradition), which provokes the laughter of the assemblage. She is given the traditional 800 cash.

The little page comes and receives 200 cash for riding the horse. The bearers of the boxes containing the bride's gifts receive 400 cash apiece; then all the members of the bride's family receive the k'ata. The master of ceremonies sits down, pretending to have finished his task.

585 431 231 But then comes what is called the suhuta, the final ceremony. In cauda venenum /"poison in the tail"/. The master of ceremonies from the daughter-in-law's family, as well as several elders of the family, stands up indignant; they manifest with vehemence the desire

/76 cont'd/

585 #31 231 to see the old traditions observed and protest against innovations. In this case it is a question of having themselves granted several more head of livestock. The other side understands immediately that the festivity will not end peacefully without the giving of some animals. It is the moment for the master of ceremonies from the son-in-law's family to show eloquence and tact. He rises and proclaims that peace between the two families is more important than several animals. "We want a lasting and peaceful alliance," /77/ cries he. "We must have concord and harmony. We ask no better than to satisfy your wishes. Choose our best beasts, but leave us at least several old and thin animals, for we are poor, we still have to live. But peace above all, and also the welfare of the children. Do not forget that two animals are necessary for the plow and that if you take one of them, we shall no longer be able to work our lands; you will not be able to do any more with one single animal; then leave face also to your son-in-law. We know the traditions, but times are no longer the same, and customs also change a little."

During this speech one of the guests of the daughter-in-law's family has already detached the piece of red cloth from the horse's mane, which signifies that the horse is considered as secured, ready to be taken away. The son-in-law leads the horse out of the courtyard. Two or three members of the daughter-in-law's family who have gotten together in advance mark about ten animals with butter. The son-in-law's family is displeased...they get angry...they push [604] one another...they shout.... Then the daughter-in-law's maternal uncle, the representative of the whole clan, rises and asks how many animals have been marked. "Ten," they answer him, for example. "Ah, good," says he, "we shall take these ten away." The owners complain...they beg...they do not let anything leave the courtyard...all the son-in-law's family kneel before the maternal uncle, imploring him. In the end they agree on two-thirds or on half of the animals already marked. The horse is taken away as well as another animal; the rest of the animals will be taken the next day.

It sometimes happens that the scene does not end so peaceably. Indeed, it is known that the son-in-law's family has hidden its best

585 /77 cont'd/
231 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags
431 to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.

It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race be-
[571 come apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice
578] in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploi-
tation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally
avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels
itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard
quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities
and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates
into quarrels and scuffles.

585 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is
614 not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community,
among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural
enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask
them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of
master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties,
who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the con-
cession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate
word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all
the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen
578 is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage,
571 and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-
in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li
family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity,
had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in
the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When
the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not
there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neigh-
bors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were ex-
changed, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

585 /78 cont'd/
576 more being served to drink and without the distribution of the fare-
571 well gifts.

The next day the Peis got ready to bring an action before the t'ou-se. The customs had not been observed, /79/ the farewell gifts [431] had not even been given, people had fought, etc.... The injured side demands indemnities for the injuries and apologies for the discourtesies.

[627] The elders of the region come to see the Peis and propose to settle the affair amicably. Negotiations...dinner...and practical conclusion: the Lis will make apologies and will offer a sheep to the Peis, then the two families will renew kin relationships.

After rounding this dangerous cape, they breathe again and quickly serve gin to distract their minds. Each one having taken his place again at the table, Chinese noodles are served to finish up.

585 The son-in-law's family invites its master of ceremonies to
431 distribute the farewell gifts. It is the pou fen tse /"supplementary shares"/ complement of the dinner. According to custom, they give to each person of a generation above that of the daughter-in-law eight loaves of bread and two pieces of meat. To the persons of the same generation and to those of lower generation they give four loaves of bread and one piece of meat. Then they think also of the persons who should have been present and who have excused themselves; they likewise prepare for them their loaves of bread and pieces of meat. In the evening at the moment of departure it is not rare to see the guests go away with one or two loads of bread and meat. It would be a discourtesy to refuse the gifts. They claim that formerly, at the moment of departure, the son-in-law's family used to give to the daughter-in-law's family "the lama's part." It consisted of two pieces of meat and eight loaves of bread, which were taken to the lamasery the next day.

The custom of asking for the lama's part has continued to exist in different places, but that of taking the gift to the lamasery has disappeared.

/79 cont'd/

19. Departure of the Guests

585 These wedding dinners always end in the evening. /80/ Most of the guests get ready to leave about this time. However, one always finds a group who will spend the night drinking and singing.

[273] As soon as they get ready to leave, they shut up the young bride in the room; the custom is that she does not say good-by to the guests. At the departure the young women of the family and the young neighbor women are at the door, provided with a jug of gin, to offer the stirrup cup. The departure itself constitutes a rejoicing. The women who have prepared flour of parched wheat try to smear the faces of those who are leaving. They shove each other, they chase one another; several women take the men while others daub them...they defend themselves.... The departure is always very noisy. They mount the drunkards on the horses, they go away and come back to take a last glass.... It goes without saying that drink takes many victims at these festivities. On these days one can determine the truth of the saying, "The camel, as soon as he sees the willow, can no longer be held back; the T'ou-jen, as soon as he sees gin, no longer is in control of himself." At nightfal the son-in-law enters the nuptial chamber where he finds his young wife and the maid of honor. Since the door of the room stays open, all the members of the family and the guests who have stayed late follow with their eyes the rite which takes place. The young married couple first make a prostration to the maid of honor, who wishes them all the good luck imaginable while presenting to them two cups of gin tied together with a red cord. The young couple must drink in concert. She pours for them three times in succession while the group on the outside makes the warmest wishes. The newly married couple make a second prostration to the maid of honor and to the whole group as thanks; the maid of honor leaves them, closing the door of the nuptial chamber. The lamp in the room must not go out for three nights. (1) The following morning the

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 86: (These rites are more complicated among the Manchu:)

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Ma 585 The following night the proof of virginity is required. /Cited in English, with French interpolations indicated by parentheses./

Mo 585 /81/ maid of honor comes to arrange the hair-do of the young wife in the manner of the women of the place.

20. Visits after the Wedding

Mo 574 585 Mo [262] The third day after the wedding, the father and mother of the young wife come to make a visit to the newly related family. This visit is called "opening a new road," tying new relationships. They bring a jug of gin, loaves of bread, dry Chinese noodles, and come, they say, to invite the son-in-law to come to their home. It is customary that on this day the young wife prepares the dinner. They make her take a practical examination of her culinary knowledge. It is she also who serves the last dish of the dinner and clears the table. The guests praise her and throw several cash for her into the empty cups. In the evening the guests go home.

The next day the father-in-law, the son-in-law, and the young wife go, the three of them, to return the visit to the parents-in-law. They bring two jugs of gin and loaves of bread. The married couple make the great prostration to the members of the family who are of generations above their own. In the evening the father and the son-in-law go back home /82/ and leave the young wife with her parents for several days. After choosing an auspicious day, one of her brothers will take her back to her husband's home. (1)

HM 585 754 1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 312: A month later the young wife sets out with her husband or with one of her close relatives to pay a visit to her parents, which she repeats several months or a year later. (German translation: and stays with them for several months, indeed often for a year.)

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her [776 782] husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

Mo 171 /85 cont'd/

In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho /sic/ can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan. /Cited in English./

b) Relations of the son-in-law with the family of his parents-in-law.

Mo 606 The son-in-law addresses the members of his wife's family in the same way that he addresses those of his own family, but adding the term gadin in speaking of them to a third person.

There are two official visits to be made each year to his parents-in-law; the first at the new year and the second on the fifteenth of the eighth moon. In addition, it is his duty to go to ask about the health of his parents-in-law when they are sick. Likewise he will take part in the festivities which are given at their home on the occasion of a marriage, upon the birth of a first-born child, ...and he will never be absent from the mournings of the family.

It is to be noted that he will always take an active part in festivities and mournings; he does not mix with the guests, he does not have his place at dinner with the guests; but being considered as a member of the family, he will help with the preparations, he will receive the /86/ guests upon their arrival, and he will dine in the kitchen with the members of the family of his parents-in-law. Again it is his duty to lend a hand to his parents-in-law when they have to use force to defend their rights, as, for example, on the occasion of the suicide or the repudiation of one of his wife's sisters. However, the adage says that relationships must not be too intimate with a related family, and that one must avoid all kinds of commercial transactions. (1)

Mo [762]

Mi Mo 595

1. I summarize in this note, according to l'Histoire des Miao /The History of the Miao/ by Savina, 2nd ed. (1930), pp. 226-229, several resemblances

Mi Mo 585

/86 cont'd/

found between Miao and T'ou-jen weddings. The importance attached in ethnology to this people is well known. P.W. Koppers, "Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-right and Totemism in Old China/," p. 996: ...just as the original homogeneity of the Tungus and Tung-hu is so probable...it seems to me that the ancient connection between the Tungus (Proto-Tungus, Pre-Chinese) and Miao-tze has been demonstrated equally as plausibly /cited in German/. Anthropos, 1930.

Mi 585

First, marriages[1] are almost always celebrated at about the same time, November, December, January. One marries young, between 15 and 20 years. Prognostications are necessary in order to be able to marry. The parents decide on the marriage of their children. The wedding meal is always twofold, i.e., taken in two places, at the home of the bridegroom's parents and at the home of the bride's. If the latter is to leave the paternal home to go to be the daughter-in-law in her bridegroom's home, the first meal is taken at her home. On the other hand, it is taken at the bridegroom's home if he is to go to be the son-in-law at the home of the bride's parents. Then there are also husband-sons-in-law. The dinner menu: corn meal, alcohol, pork if desired. The meal is served on tables improvised for the occasion, planks held up by stakes; the meat put on leaves is

Mi [262]

[1] [marriages: Miao marriages --- Analyst]

2: Schram--98 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Miao AE5

/86 cont'd/

Mi 585 [262]

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride...which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slits of the partition.

Mi [583]

Mo 585 [71]

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

Mi 582

Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

Mo 587 606 /89 cont'd/ mother-in-law two bricks of tea, which is what they call k'ai k'eou ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which open her mouth"; next they promise the father-in-law 12 strings of cash, called tchou hoen ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which make him take upon himself the responsibility for the marriage." (1) Then they discuss the price of the widow, a

Ma [587]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: The Manchus do not pay "kalin" if the woman demanded is a widow. /Cited in English./

price which ordinarily varies between 150 and 200 strings of cash. Again, since it will be necessary to write a contract, and since all the grandfathers, uncles, and brothers will have to affix their signatures to it, /90/ they discuss the price and the number of signers at the rate of three strings of cash per signature. Three or four relatives of the family take part in this discussion, which always takes place at night.

Mo [583] This sum is called ming ts'ien /"money in the open"/, i.e., the official or public price of the widow. Very often it happens that one or another member of the family secretly lets it be known that he opposes this marriage and that he will cause difficulties.

Ordinarily these recalcitrants take advantage of their relationship to make some easy money. They take them privately and discusses with them in secret the sum of money which their consent is worth. This is the ngan ts'ien, i.e., "the secret money," which very often is far from being insignificant. It is what makes people say that the expenditures made for widows, particularly for those who are going to be second wives, are based on the wealth of the suitor.

Mo 587 585 These negotiations with the surly relatives having produced results and the price being agreed upon, the suitor must make his decision. When consent is given, he does not pay the money; he will pay only on the day when the widow has crossed the threshold of his house. We have seen exactly the opposite for the marriage of

/90 cont'd/
587
[585] girls; they are allowed to leave home only when the very last cash has been paid.

This is because there are so many unforeseen events in this kind of marriage: the widow can deceive the suitor, the parents-in-law can play bad tricks on him, the parents of the widow can do the same, an unknown man can abduct her forcibly at night....Because of these risks the go-betweens do not dare demand payment of the sum before the widow is at her husband's home. A second precaution to take in order to avoid subsequent difficulties consists in the writing of a contract duly signed by the whole family of the parents-in-law, which is scarcely required for the marriage of girls. The marriage contract of a widow is signed only when she has entered the house of her /91/ husband and the money is counted on the table. In the old days, it is said, they used to do without a contract, and they contented themselves with taking the widow's ring, breaking it in two, and giving half to each party.

It is in the evening or at night that they go to get widows, and that is always done without anyone's knowledge. These precautions are needed when one knows the way of thinking of the T'ou-jen, according to which the widow belongs to anyone who can take her.
[589] When a widow has made her choice and the negotiations have been begun, she will no longer dare to leave her house; in the evening she will call trusted men, who will mount guard, armed to the teeth. Her parents will be careful to distribute the sa lou ts'ien /"money to block the road"/ to the neighbors: This is the money bestowed on the neighbors so that they will defend the widow in case of an abduction.

3. Departure of the Widow

A band of ten to 20 men armed with swords, sticks, guns... go away in the night and in the greatest silence to get the widow. The greater the danger appears, the larger will be the escort. The widow is at the home of her parents or has gone to some agreed-upon place. The parents will consent to the departure of their

/153 cont'd/

604 These facts make understandable the expression so often met in this study, "tnat the maternal uncle is really the master of the bones of his sister's children."

604 b) Permission to bury the dead is given by the maternal uncle.
764 After what we have just said, is it not natural that the T'ou-jen call the maternal uncle at the death of his sister and her children? Burial will never take place as long as he has not given his permission. In the case of rumors about the unnatural death of a person under his jurisdiction, he will examine the body. It is to recognize his rights that the family will call him each time that a burial takes place to inspect the body, and they will humbly beg him to give permission /154/ for burial or cremation. When they bury in the Chinese manner, they present to the maternal uncle the axe and the wedge for closing the cover of the coffin. This is what the Chinese do also.

604 c) Precedence of the maternal uncle at the wedding.
585 In the light of these facts, is it not easy to understand the importance that the T'ou-jen attach, at the time of marriage, to the mother's clan and to the maternal uncle in particular? He presides then at the festivity at his sister's home. They offer him the great gift of honor. He is invited to remain standing beside the bride during the speech of the master of ceremonies, who names him at this moment the master of the bones of his sister's children. At the home of the son-in-law it is he again who is the great guest and who receives the gift of honor. If there are neither grandfather or old men, it is he who conducts the wedding ceremony, who orders the prostrations, and says the blessings. At the time of the carrying off of the animals and of the uproar at the end of the wedding festivity, it is he again who settles the quarrel in the name of his sister's family, and it is before him that the son-in-law's whole family prostrate themselves. At the dinner at the bridegroom's home, the master of ceremonies emphasizes the importance of the maternal clan: "The man as well as the woman must have a maternal clan so that they can prove their origin." They scarcely speak of the paternal clan. Addressing himself to him a second time, the master of ceremonies says: "The man is indebted to the maternal clan for his qualities, as the woman is to her family's clan." Not the least allusion to the paternal clan.

/154 cont'd/

3. Importance of the Mother, the Daughter-in-law, the Child, the Maternal Clan

593 562 a) Abnormal interference in the marriage of her children.

In a patriarchal organization the wife does not own anything, she does not count; even her children do not belong to her. Is it not necessary therefore to explain the predominant position of the mother in the marriage rites as being a vestige of a /155/ former matriarchate?

593 562 585 Indeed, the wedding "seems" even in our day to be the business of the mother alone. Without speaking of the marriage promises made between mothers as yet only pregnant, we have seen that the official request for the bride is made by the mother alone. The consent given to the mother alone enjoys all the necessary guarantees so that they can allow themselves to wait four or five years more before getting a go-between. Likewise, when the earnest is discussed, it is again the mother alone who goes to ask for the girl to be married at an early date; only after the mother's request does the go-between appear in order to set the date and the rest. For marriages without ceremony it is the mother again who, with the go-between, goes in complete simplicity to get the bride who is poor. This fact is very significant. Along the way, what the sobbing bride fears most is that they will curse her by cursing her mother; this is the greatest injury that can be done to her.

606 587 593 When one examines present-day customs concerning young widows, one finds it abnormal in a patriarchal organization that the young widow after the 49 days of mourning goes back to her mother's family to stay there until her second marriage. Indeed, she is the property pure and simple of her parents-in-law. It is likewise abnormal that the go-betweens, at the time of the second marriage, address themselves to her own parents before addressing her mother-in-law. Does not that recall the time when the daughter was married at home and had no mother-in-law?

After addressing the mother, the go-between goes to the home of the widow's parents-in-law, and there again he accosts first the mother-in-law, just as if she had the widow-bride at her disposal

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

Mo [71]

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo ● 585 562 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

Mo 585 562 Mo [171] /157 cont'd/ her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage. The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo 608 591 606 We have described above the different forms taken by the husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this

1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-sc. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 592]

institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma 606 We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

2: Schram--192 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Mongubr AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

/173 cont'd/

MM 113 pp. 1, 2, 3, gives by his bibliography an idea of the present state of the Mongol philological problem.

M 121 whom all degrees of Mongolization are found, /174/ and then to those concerning the Miao and the Lo-lo P'o.

M 585 When one studies the T'ou-jen matrimonial ritual all alone without taking into account the rituals of the other groups, it is an eminently solemn rite which immediately impresses one and which shows itself to be the high moment of the whole wedding. It is indeed the moment when the bride and groom, kneeling one beside the other in the presence of the whole assemblage, standing and silent, of the guests of the two families, give together the three great ritual prostrations "to heaven and to the multifarious spirits," then to the parents and to all the assemblage, while "the old man who blesses" pronounces the good wishes, which say clearly what is meant by the union of the two persons on whom every eye is fixed. When the good wishes are pronounced and the prostrations made, the bride's veil is removed and she is taken to the nuptial chamber as if to signify the end of the great act. If there is a solemn moment in the T'ou-jen wedding, it is certainly this one.

Now we find this rite in all T'ou-jen weddings: in the marriage without ceremony of poor girls, in that of widows without support, and even in the abnormal marriages to the prayer poles and the belt. When all the other rites are missing, the prostration to heaven or to the spirits made by the bride and groom is never omitted. This leads one to believe that in the eyes of the T'ou-jen this rite is by far the most important.

M 585 171 Now, shall we find a similar rite in the other groups? Among the Mongols one meets a scene nearly identical to the one seen among the T'ou-jen; but one is very surprised not to see the groom take part in it beside the kneeling bride. Indeed, the bride alone is brought into the father-in-law's home where the parents and friends of the future wife are gathered; ritual prayers are read; three prostrations are given by the bride to the fire, to the father and mother, to the bride's parents; all give her their blessings aloud. /175/ (Cf. page 81)

/175 cont'd/

585 171 Among the Tungus of the northern group and especially among those of Transbaikalia, the bridal couple come together "to bow to" the guests seated around the fire; the latter kiss the bride's hand and mouth ... a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes for them. (Cf. page 183.) (The author notes Russian influence expressly for this group.)

Among the nomads of the same group, the bride alone is taken in before the father-in-law and kneels before him and the elders of the clan, others throw offerings into the fire.... (Cf. p. 184.)

Among the Tungus of the southern group, especially among the Manchu, the bridal couple kneel together upon their arrival in the husband's courtyard and make three prostrations to heaven and earth and burn incense. (Cf. p. 81.)

Among the Miao it is the groom alone who makes the ritual prostrations in the presence of the relatives gathered together, and an old man enumerates all the duties which he will have to perform henceforward in the tribe. (Cf. p. 99.)

Among the Lo-lo P'o the bride alone makes the prostrations in the kitchen to the god of the hearth. (Cf. page 190.)

Therefore it can be established that one finds only among the T'ou-jen and Manchu the ritual prostrations to the spirits, etc., "made together by the bridal couple"; however, among the Manchu the ceremony is carried out with much less solemnity than among the T'ou-jen.

585 177 Now on the one hand these two peoples are the most Sinicized of all the peoples in question, and on the other hand, it is precisely among the Chinese that one sees practiced the rite of ritual prostrations "made together by the bridal couple" to heaven and earth and to the spirits. One would thus be led to suppose that we are dealing here with a Chinese rite which the T'ou-jen and Manchu have adopted and which the T'ou-jen especially have /176/ admirably thrown into relief in a setting of Mongol origin. Besides, one would be led to make the not-at-all commonplace observation that a rite attributed to the neighbors constitutes today, among the T'ou-jen at least, the high moment of the wedding for the reason that this rite must have responded singularly well to the natural and religious aspirations of the people. But let us undeceive ourselves. This fact is not so Chinese as it may seem

/176 cont'd/

585 on first sight. The base of it is Mongol; what is Chinese is only acci-
177 dental; this is the presence of the groom beside the bride and the part he takes in a ceremony which already used to exist.

Certainly it is hard for us to understand a wedding in which the two parties do not carry out some rite together, or at least where the two parties are not present. This, nevertheless, is what we have seen among all these peoples except the T'ou-jen and the Manchu.

585 What is the high point of the wedding among these peoples?
171 It seems to me that it is still when the bride is brought in before her parents-in-law, the members of her bridegroom's clan, and all the guests to make all alone the ritual prostrations, to pay her respects and recognize her subjection. It is precisely then that among the Mongol "the ritual prayers are read... and all give her their blessings" (cf. p. 81), that among the Tungus of Transbaikalia "a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes" (cf. p. 183), that among the Miao "while the groom is on his knees, an old man enumerates all the duties he will have to carry out." (Cf. p. 95.)

It would be very interesting for us to know these "ritual prayers and blessings given by all," these "wishes intoned by the shaman," and these "duties enumerated by the old man," for I think it is just at that moment, and at that moment alone, that the true meaning of the festive event is revealed by the wishes made and the blessings implored and wished. And from whom are these blessings awaited? Who will bring about these wishes? These wishes must present a good deal of resemblance with those /177/ made among the T'ou-jen in similar circumstances, and I cannot keep from supposing that this moment of the festival must be just as impressive and just as important in these groups as among the T'ou-jen.

585 I allow myself therefore to insist on this ceremony, all the more
114 because it is especially with respect to it that we have the fewest details and that it is often passed by unnoticed in the things relative to marriage.

585 If one turns up one's nose at this rite, then marriage simply loses its meaning among these peoples, since it is reduced to the simple acquisition by purchase of a new member on the part of the bridegroom's family, to the discussions about the price of the girl, to

/177 cont'd/

585 the payment of the purchase price, and to the delivery of the "merchandise" by her owners; in addition one has the admission of the girl into the bridegroom's clan and the sacrifice made by her to the god of the hearth of her new family: the whole followed by a dinner and entertainment.

But finally, why spend money for a girl? Why admit a new member into the family? Why is marriage among these peoples the great work of life? They know well why, these peoples! I suppose that they say so like the T'ou-jen in the ritual prayers, in the blessings: that they say it to those from whom they await its realization, and that exactly at the moment when the bride makes the prostrations.

This is why I consider this ceremony as the chief ceremony in marriage among these peoples.

105 The few rare materials which this study presents to us prove amply that the civilization of the T'ou-jen is far from being homogenous, and that we find ourselves here in the presence of cultural elements belonging to different types of culture.

/178/ After studying the history of this people in Kansu, its environment, its neighbors, its social, political, and religious life, we shall be better able to understand the complexity of its civilization and the origin of the cultural elements we find in it.

The T'ou-jen, separated radically for hundreds of years from other groups of their race, confined in a lost corner of Kansu, surrounded by peoples having a culture of a type different from theirs, and having themselves changed their kind of life since their arrival in the new habitat, present a very complex problem to us, whose data must be well known before it can be solved.

114 So we reserve our conclusions for later, trying above all to furnish as faithfully, as completely, as possible all the ethnologic and historic materials.

2: Schram--199 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, an enormous headdress on her head. She wears the costume peculiar to the T'ou-jen.

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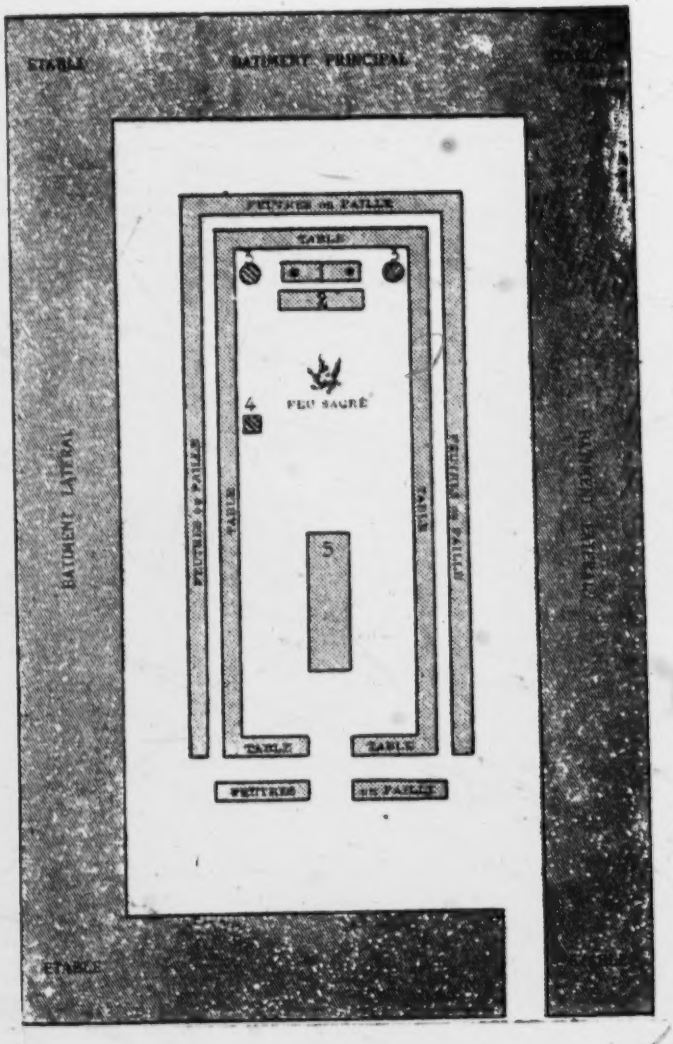

Plan of a T'ou-jen courtyard.

1. Table with the two lamps.
2. Red felt.
3. Place of the cupbearer.
4. Seat of the master of ceremonies.
5. Table where the gifts are spread out.

[50 cont.]
777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section: "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated, a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When
[237] an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the
[432] arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut,
[302] on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are
[852] rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. -- When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth
● [585] are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow. Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away, is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

[51 cont.]

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*7178

[Foreign text pp. 52-53 cont.]
from a cow, when it is sold, is also tied to the arrow, but in no case hog bristles, as for example, L. Schram (Mariage, p. 58) maintains.

[114]

L. Schram in this place generally confuses the arrow of good fortune with the spirit-spear. He designates with iang hstia a [53] "tige en fer"[iron shaft], which stands in a "gros et large socle" [large and wide base] and has a length of "deux à trois pieds" [two to three feet]. It is accorded a veneration "comme devant les esprits" [as before the spirits]. This never applies to a yãnsdzia, however, but in part only to a small spirit-spear. In the case of the latter, the tip and iron foot are visible so that it gives the impression of being entirely of iron. It is likewise stuck in a large stand and may have a length of about a meter. According to my informant, the arrow of good fortune is not venerated like a spirit among the Tujen, whereas the spear is. The other statements, however, fit the arrow of good fortune.

The urn also receives additions. For instance, some kernels of grain are always thrown into it when some is sold. Furthermore, during the night when the bride is fetched, the bridegroom's family brings a hada and bran for the bride's riding animal. Part of the bran is poured into the urn and the hada is tied to the arrow of good fortune.

[585]

Safekeeping: If the arrow of good fortune was consecrated and stuck in an urn or a bushel, the latter must always stand together with the arrow in the main house on the chest in front

[51 cont.]

777 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the
*778 chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also always be in the main house.

777 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn
*778 is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then
782 fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 At noon a family festival[1] is celebrated with a banquet,
*778 and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama stays until the following morning.
[527]

[787] Use and significance: The arrow is never used for sooth-
[585] saying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

[1] [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

[51 cont.]

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5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

777 house, namely, during the wedding. While the bride, amidst
*778 the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the thresh-
585 ing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the
arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-
[171] being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-
[432] urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

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6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãñsdzia. Some say yãñ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãñbō. The ... bō could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãñ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g.yañ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãñbō. The Tujen have a third expression for

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
the arrow of good fortune in the word yãn̈dar. They interpret the yãn̈ as "good fortune" and the dar as "to increase." The old man, however, would not let the dar be applied to the entire arrow, but only to the hada attached to it, and he is correct in this, for dar in Tibetan signifies "cloth, silk." He stated that the whole thing, including the urn, is always only called yãn̈sdzia. It is unclear to me what the sdzia in this combination actually means. It is doubtful that it is a literary botching of mda', "arrow."

In order to determine the meaning of the arrow of good fortune in more detail, it is best to start from the Tib. word g,yaṅ. According to Ch. Das, the sense of wealth, fullness of life, treasures, state of well-being is connected with g,yaṅ. This is apparent from the corresponding combinations with g,yaṅ (cf. pp. 1149ff.). The very essence of good fortune, however, seems to be the sheep; metaphorically it is simply called g,yaṅ-dkar, "the white good-fortune." White is also the color of good fortune. But how, then, is the arrow of good fortune to be comprehended as the carrier of good fortune?

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Its peculiar character becomes clearest at the wedding ceremony. When the bride departs from the parental house and is led three times around the threshing floor on horseback, the father of the bride runs behind the bride three times

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] with the arrow of good fortune and calls out her name. Meanwhile the attendants sing a song in which they conjure everything that the bride takes with her onto the arrow as a "germ," so that it might stay behind. -- The urn that holds the grain brought by the bride-fetchers is a similar matter. This urn is called g.yaṅ-bum in Tibetan and its meaning corresponds with that given by Ch. Das (p. 1150). It contains treasures: gold, silver, money, ornaments, etc. The arrow of good fortune and the urn of good fortune thus carry the germs and vital power of all the blessings of good fortune of the kin group [Sippe], be they animals, human beings, [54] treasures, or seed. They not only carry them, but also guarantee their preservation and increase. This conception, however, is not only found among the Tujen.

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The shepherd-nomads have a custom similar to that of the Tujen and the agricultural Fandse with their arrow of good fortune. When they sell animals, they tie some of the wool or hair to the tent post or to a string inside the tent. (G. Montell, p. 49, illustration, reports something similar from the Mongols.) This post or string has a special relationship to heaven. Among the agriculturalists the urn appears in accordance with the importance of the agricultural products. Thus, the Chinese likewise have a pao-p'ing, "treasure-vase"; similarly, the Lolo have an ancestral chest in which

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g, yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g, yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãṅsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
perhaps to be interpreted as astral), and the seeds, together with the other treasures, more with earth. The arrow represents the connection of the two (heavenly post, heavenly rope). This idea also fits in well with the pre-Buddhistic -- shamanistic world-picture with the world mountain and the individual realms. Cf. for instance, the representation in the mountain torma at the ritual of the pole-goat, where all of creation is put in miniature on a mandala. A germinally pre-formed world which maintains the actual, large world through its vital power is always fundamental. -- It would be interesting to pursue these conceptions across Asia; perhaps even the Inao and the "sending off" of the Ainu are connected with them.

The arrow of good fortune and the customs connected with it have passed into Buddhism and are practiced in all lamic monasteries. The arrow is found everywhere. The most important ceremony is the summoning of good fortune (g.yaṅ 'gug). This ceremony is reported in detail in F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, pp. 139-147), where further details concerning the Lamaistic use of the [55] arrow can also be found, but this does not belong here. Only one parallel with the popular custom among the Tujen should be mentioned, where Lessing describes the procession with the arrow of good fortune (p. 146): "After this interlude, the procession continues its way and finally returns to Hall II. They have absorbed all they can the elixir

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] or vital forces (rasayana, Tib. bcud len, Mong. sime, shime) of heaven and earth, sun and moon, rivers and lakes, trees and herbs" [cited in English]. This corresponds precisely to the above-mentioned wedding ceremony of the Tujen at the departure of the bride, where likewise "the germs, vital force" are conjured in song onto the arrow with which the father runs behind the bride.

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The Tujen word for this "germ, seed," etc. in the songs is furie; cf. Schröder, Hochzeitslieder" [Wedding Songs]. furie is the Mongolic üre (DMF, p. 111) and in meaning corresponds, like sime, to the Tibetan bcud in bcud len. len signifies "to seize, to grasp, to gather" (Ch. Das, p. 1220), and bcud, "sap, moistness, essence, force," etc. (p. 394). The meaning that my informant gave for the word yãn is identical with this; cf. above. With regard to the expression bcud-len, Ch. Das writes (p. 394): "the art of extracting essences for prolonging health and longevity, such essences as being of different kinds ..." [cited in English]. He also mentions in particular the earth-force: "sa-yi bcud, the essence of the earth, by which the produce of the field, medicinal plants and precious metals and stones, etc., are said by Tibetans to be produced; therefore this essence is the natural fecundity of the soil ..." [cited in English]. More about this in another place (in the myth about the origin of agriculture).

[585] bride leaves the family, but it is desired that good fortune and wealth should not leave the home with her. For that reason clothing and bits of hair are also preserved on the arrow.

765 784 [262] [585] [783] [796] [647 cont.] foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot; one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse; also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not officiate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 775 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead person; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul [777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one [791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved, it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. [782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 885 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not. 766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

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776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieṅgëre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieṅgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
[831] The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzün tieṅgërde fdzë bõlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to become a subject of a lamasery, had to be relieved of military service, corvée, and allegiance to his clan chief. The loss of a subject for the clan chief meant loss of a soldier, a tiller of his soil, and a payer of land taxes—a considerable detriment to his power and his wealth. It is obvious that the loss of a couple of families did not matter too much, but the loss of numerous families would have disturbed the clan chiefs and made them try to prevent the illegal desertion of their subjects.

However, at that time Lamaism was at the height of its glory and power. Even the discontented Chinese officials had no way to oppose the omnipotent Living Buddhas pampered at the court in Peking, and could not lend a helping hand to the T'u-ssu, urging the return of their subjects and bringing suit over the encroachment on their rights. The T'u-ssu, willy-nilly, saw their subjects leave them in large numbers, lured by the more favorable conditions of living offered by the lamaseries.

In this way the lamaseries assembled the group of subjects referred to by the author of the *Annals*, who of their own free will became genuine monastery serfs ("Shabinar"), free of allegiance to their clan chiefs. In 1723, being the actual serfs of the lamaseries, they were compelled to fight at the side of the lamas, their chiefs, against the Chinese armies, according to the general conditions imposed on serfs and subjects.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO THE LAMASERIES

Notwithstanding the drastic regulations decreed after 1723 in order to loose completely all the ties which bound the subjects to the lamaseries, and to avoid revolts in the future, the subjects still continue to recognize some obligations to the lamaseries.

Farmers Offering Oil and Pigs

From 1723 until 1910, the so-called subjects paid their rent in kind and carried it to the monastery; the farmers were organized in villages, and each village continued to offer as before, in the autumn of each year, a certain number of pounds of vegetable oil to the intendancy whose fields they tilled; it was considered as an offering for the lamps in the temples of the intendency. In addition, every year in the New Year season they continued to bring to the same intendancy a pig weighing 120 pounds. If the scale did not tip 120 pounds, the weight lacking was made up in pork. In former times when subjects married, it was customary for the family of the bride to demand from the family of the bridegroom a portion for the lamas. This consisted of 30 pounds of pork, and was offered to the intendancy on which the family of the bride depended. At present the 30 pounds of pork are still asked for and presented to the family of the bride, but the meat no longer reaches the intendancy.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] During the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14]

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16]

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family.

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased.

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[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267–317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106. Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu, op. cit.*, 42–71.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang."

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen.

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual.

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her.

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire.

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and this is also true among the Mongols[4] and the Buriats.[5] If, then, the rite of the sacred animal, which is specifically and characteristically an ancient nomad rite, is never directed to Heaven, one would not expect the harvest rite, if it were simply a later substitute for the rite of the sacred animal, to be directed to Heaven; but since this rite, uniquely and exceptionally among the Monguors, is in fact directed to Heaven, there is strong reason to infer that the harvest rite of the Monguors is a borrowing of the identical harvest rite of the Chinese of the Hsining region.

In all other circumstances, the "spirit of Heaven" is honored in conjunction with "all the spirits" by means of a single rite performed for them in a group, and by means of the same offering. At the morning Wei-sang, made by the head of the family, a cry is uttered, "Heaven and all the spirits" (some Monguors add the name of the guardian deity of the family), and three prostrations are made for all of them, while the offering burns. On New Year's eve, the chief and elders of the village, after lighting a big fire in the temple yard, prostrate themselves three times for the group "Heaven and all the spirits."

In every family, on New Year's eve, a big fire is lit and the same rite performed. During the celebration of a sixtieth birthday a fire is lit in the courtyard and the hero of the feast performs this same rite. The last rite, in order to be preserved from hail, is performed by all the villagers on top of the highest mountain of the village, where all the statues of the temple are carried and a big Wei-sang performed, and there the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits" is implored. At marriages, the new couple prostrate themselves before a big fire in the courtyard, for "Heaven and all the spirits" in keeping with the command of the master of ceremonies.[6]

Two exceptions are to be recalled, which have already been noted, concerning the rite on the Obo and the offering of a sheep to the guardian deity of the family. On these occasions the "spirit of Heaven" receives its part of the offer first, followed immediately by an identical offering for "all the spirits."

These two facts and that of the thanksgiving rite in the temple, to be sure, give evidence for the prominence of "Heaven" and apparently manifest its honorary position among the Monguors. Surely they help the Monguors remember this honorary prominence every time the formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," is used.

It is noteworthy that Heaven and all the spirits are always honored in the open air, in courtyards, on top of a roof, or on top of a mountain, never inside a temple or a living room. In old China, "all the spirits" were

[4] See above, p. 119; also Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 90.

[5] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 240.

[6] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kan-sou*, 71, Changhai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932. The same rite is recorded among the Mongols, by Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 74, and among the Buriats, *ibid.*, 301.

[p. 151(B)]